

AMERICA'S LOST CHANCE TO BE GREAT NEUTRAL LEADER

Whitney Warren, the New York Architect, Flays His Stay at Home Countrymen for the Policy of Submission Which He Holds Responsible for Worst Evils of the War

By EDWARD MARSHALL.

PARIS, Nov. 10.
TWO structures in America are known to almost every one, native born or of foreign origin, who has travelled to or from New York. They are the New York Central and the Pennsylvania terminals. In every part of the world railway men have studied their plans as models of efficiency, and architects have studied them as examples of the purest beauty adapted to the needs of modern life. Great architects, American architects, designed them. They have done as much as the city's skyscrapers to make New York a famous city in these lands beyond the sea in which I travel these days.

Naturally the men who built these wonders of constructive work are of that psychology which must show destructiveness. Being of the few whose high privilege it is to add to the world's utilitarian beauty, they must be of the many who naturally must deplore such ruthless wreckage as is now in progress on this European side of the great sea.

Here in Paris, which was miraculously preserved by Gallieni and his taxicabbing army, I have been able to meet one of these men, one of these great American constructionists, one of these American creators of colossal beauty that is useful, and to meet him just as he has finished manifold investigations of the ruthless wreck of beauty which has proceeded in north France since the German army of invasion began its bloodstained, fire-flecked, shell-torn march through one of the most lovely sections of the world, to leave it scarred and charred and broken.

Whitney Warren built the wonderful Grand Central Terminal in New York city, as he has built many other wondrous structures in his native land. He has been infinitely shocked by this war's ravages. His artistic soul revolts against them, his efficiency and order loving intellect revolt against them. He considers them not only wholly horrible but unnecessary, even to the conduct of a military campaign. He thinks them inexcusable offences against the sense of civilization.

Because of the conviction that in some way the world must be preserved from future episodes which tend to plunge it back toward barbarism, he is praying not only for the triumph of the Allies, but for such international organization of righteous force for the future as forever will prevent like episodes. In France he has become the mouthpiece of that brotherhood of soul which sent Lafayette from France to help us, and he mourns because America has sent no Lafayette to France.

He has become far more even than one of the world's greatest architects, he has become an international protester, whose voice rings loud against armed vandalism. If France does not forget her love for us we shall owe something of the debt thereof to Whitney Warren.

"I love France, for here I had my education and from here to America I carried the foundation of whatever has been worth while in my life's work," he said to me. "Thousands of Americans have done just that. France has given many things to America besides the splendid soul of Lafayette. We owe her much."

"I came over on the first ship sailing from the States after the outbreak of the war and I shall not leave, I hope, until the war is won."

"It is of the most intense and tragic interest to me. I watch the marvelous endeavors of France for the protection from invaders of her lands, her industries, her women, her children

and her art, which is her soul, with the most alert and sympathetic interest. I came over here on fire with the desire to help. I have tried to help. But, to Americans abroad, the situation has been most discouraging."

"I have lived much in Paris and have travelled much in Europe generally. Ever since the '80s I have known that this great war must come. When it came I wished to see it at close range. But in the wildest and most pathetic imaginings I never had dreamed that it would be a war in which one side instantly would set a fashion for such methods as, if all the world should follow them, would carry mankind backward out of civilization into barbarism and beyond."

"Nor did I ever dream that should such things occur America would stand humbly at the side of the arena unprotesting, meek. Especially has art been murdered here without a whisper from her lovers in America."

"What will be the effect of what you call this lack of protest upon the future sentiment of Europe's artists, art-lovers, literary and book lovers toward America?" I asked this expert, who has studied this side angle of the war's psychology so much more carefully than any body other than himself has studied it.

"If things were let stand as they now stand," said Mr. Warren, "I hesitate to predict what might occur. But I am hopeful that the worthy spirit of America may counteract all this unworthiness."

"I am hoping that a few great demonstrations, promoted by Americans who have the old American heart, the old American soul, the old American uprightness and contempt for all brutality and all unmanliness, may offset the spiritual slothfulness which so has seemed to characterize a certain number of my countrymen."

"I am hoping that one or two great demonstrations from America may show the French, the British and the world at large that in the United States still lives some spirit such as averted away from the world their lives for liberty, such as in 1598 sent the flower of the nation, unprepared but valiant, to the tropics and the fivers to fight for the oppressed."

"The movement which is under way in the United States toward doing something really magnificent in caring for the orphans of the war zone will work wonders if persisted in."

"Already we have done something, though not so much as we are fond of claiming to have done, for the aid of suffering Belgium. Most Americans believe that our work there has been the only work of the sort that has done the work of France and England it has been but insignificant."

"I have no doubt that France will think us worthy of her fellowship after the war ends, for in the past she has believed in us, and now seems likely to believe at the sort of the sort of American bluff and exaggeration which lays claim to having done far more than it has done."

"In England the situation is much simpler. England never has accepted us at our own estimate, as France has, and so there the disillusionment is likely to be lighter than it would be in France if France should realize the facts about the course which we have followed while the best in all the world has been attacked by a perverted civilization."

"England has looked upon and still regards us as a nation of provincials of whom too much must not be expected. She regards us with a sort of tolerance."

"I hope she may have reason to think better of us ere the war has come to its grim end, but I see no signs as we are talking that this will be the case."

"Will France recover quickly from the strain and wastage of the war?" I asked this man who has observed events in France so closely.

"I believe that after the war the prosperity and advancement of France will be phenomenal," he answered. "Her agricultural products will be about what they have been, save for the access that will come through general introduction of agricultural machinery where man power has been the rule in days gone by; but her man-

ufacturing interests will immensely and immediately increase."

"There is a hint of grim comedy in what will be the real effect of Germany's invasion of north France, accompanied, as it has been, by the ruthless destruction of French factories."

"There is not the slightest doubt that ere the war ends every inch of France will be free of German feet. They will have left behind them a black path of ruin, but most of the wrecked structures were obstructions rather than real aids to French commercial progress."

"For many, many years the French factory owner had been the victim of a strange conservatism. He had not progressed. His methods were very antiquated and generally inefficient. He did well enough and was contented, because there was no desperate incentive to do better."

"The great energy of the American people is the accretion of the immense constructive effort which was demanded of them in the early days when they had to conquer a great wilderness. Something of the sort will come in France."

"No longer can she sit with calm content and watch archaic factories do business for a meagre profit in an antiquated way. Her mills must really produce, competing with the best the world can show. They must be rebuilt quickly and on most modern lines in order that with speed she may recover from the vast disaster which has overtaken her."

"She has had her stimulant. Necessity will speed her up. The old has been destroyed by Germany and therefore Germany has done France a great service, for the old was not the best, and the new which will succeed it will be exactly that."

"The wrecked factories will have all their inefficiencies replaced by wonderful efficiencies. Almost ever since the war began Frenchmen have been scouring the world for knowledge of new methods and they are preparing with a singular intelligence, with a delicately adjusted skill which cannot be duplicated elsewhere in the world to adapt what has been discovered to the building of the new."

"The old was far from good; the new will be the best known to modern industry. That is sure and because it is sure is one reason why I see immense prosperity ahead for France."

"Victory will mean tremendous things for France. The nation that is down becomes engloomed and grows continually more prostrate. France has suffered horrors in her soul, for she has a soul more perfectly developed, I believe, than that of any other nation."

"Her art and her family love prove that. Such family love as the common thing in France is practically unknown in America. To an outsider the French family tie seems not less than incredible in strength. Nothing is powerful enough to sever them."

"There is another matter I shall emphasize if you will let me. It is this: France is the principal and not the secondary adversary of Germany in this great war."

"Germany's laborious effort to convince the world that she does not dislike the French but hates only the English is the vilest nonsense. France and Germany are hereditary enemies, made so by the long past aggressions of the Germans. England had no desire to fight and no real reason to, save that which was quite altruistic. Her one wish was to develop through continued peace. The blood of Germany was aimed at France and not at England."

"But England through this war has gained as France has gained, while losing much of great material value, a psychological advantage which will glorify her in the future."

"And now that I have said those words you see at once exactly what I think my own United States has lost."

"She had an opportunity. She spurned it, or (and very likely that is worse) she snatched it and neglected it. They did their duty to the end, and while rushing to arms and fight, but it was to marshal all the neutral Powers behind us, as they could have been arrayed under our great and powerful leadership, for the prevention of a campaign of invasion by the Central Powers."

"That was the role which I believe we should have played; that was the role which we had prepared the world to think that we were ready to enact."

"When Andrew Carnegie built the Peace Palace at The Hague the impulse which stood sturdily behind it, I am quite sure, was not a supine tolerance of outrage which would turn a slapped cheek to the slapper with a petition for more slapping, but the hope that through his effort a judicial system might work out among the nations which would halt the hand of the unjust assailant, partly through the education of the naturally lawless, but when that failed through the combination of the forces of all law and order against the criminal."

"Only that has been the process of society which anywhere has won against the wicked and the lawless. Law must have behind it, even in the most carefully managed and most highly civilized centres of human population, the strong arm of those quite competent for its enforcement."

"New York, Boston, Chicago, San Francisco, Philadelphia, New Orleans, Colorado Springs, Los Angeles and all the other big and little towns which are the centres of our wealth and culture have become what they are not because all of their citizens have good impulses but because they have been organized together and have been armed with their police for the preservation of the right and the suppression and the punishment of wrong."

"In such communities the man who stands aside and lets the criminal work go on unhindered and unpunished is ranked as a criminal himself. He is a bad citizen of the community. That is the character, I think, of our present American citizenship in the community of nations."

"In every country there are three forces, the moral, the financial and the physical. The moral, in those communities which stand for anything, the moral is the strongest. With us the financial and the physical have predominated while the moral has been in throe."

"Germany has realized the relative importance of these forces. She began her invasion of the other territories of the world by striking at their morals through her cynical philosophies, this moral invasion she succeeded with financial invasion, and finally she sought to invade physically when she thought that she was strong enough and all the balance of the world was weak enough."

"I cannot believe that any nation, be that land my own or any other, has the right to sit with folded arms while such a vicious course is followed by any Power."

"It may be said at this point in this report that almost immediately after Mr. Warren reached the France he holds in his heart next to his own country he began to work as opportunity arose toward bringing about such an understanding in America as would help it to see things as they are. It cannot be said that he has been a neutral in this war, although he quite admits that before it came he found himself continually compelled to admire Germany. That she has forced so many men who, like himself, had learned to value and respect her to regard her with a species of real horror he counts as one of the great war's greatest tragedies."

"I asked him why he did not take the utterly dispassionate point of view which President Wilson urges on the bed and thought of all Americans, and he cried, almost passionately, 'Because I cannot recognize neutrality as moral when the issues of humanity, of decency, of civilization are at stake! I readily can understand, although I do not say that I endorse, the general French point of view that neutrality must be pro-Germany.'"

"How superb France has been!" he went on slowly. "How her men have died for an ideal! I have known many who have given everything to the great cause. Personally I find myself used to sorrow at their death. They did their duty to the end, and while rushing to arms and fight, but it was to marshal all the neutral Powers behind us, as they could have been arrayed under our great and powerful leadership, for the prevention of a campaign of invasion by the Central Powers."

"America really had in this war an interest of the most vital nature. She had built ideals more rapidly and beautifully than any of the nations. One of her best and highest was that dream of a world peace. How beautifully the vision of the successful business man Carnegie! Nearly all of the conventions which the world has looked upon as good and which primarily were fashioned with the hope of through them giving peace to all humanity, were of American origin. Honorable and constructive peace had become the general American ideal."

"Germany's cynical and ruthless violation of Belgium, therefore, was a slap at our ideals as much as an attack upon her neighbor's property. She wrecked the splendid ethical structure, she defiled the pure humanitarian philosophy of a hundred of our greatest minds when she advanced on that devoted people, outraging and destroying human life, woman's purity and the legacy of art which had been left by a great past for all posterity."

"It is my depressing feeling that we have accepted a tremendous and disheartening responsibility. It is my belief that we have shirked a splendid duty, for I think that we alone of all the nations of the world might have prevented all the slaughter."

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"But even had we acted in the principal issues as we did we still might well have performed minor duties, might have won some of the world's gratitude. Had we but protested vigorously (as we had a right to do), with an obviously real and not arrogantly bluffing threat behind our protest, Germany never would have drowned the long succession of her innocent victims after she had sunk the Lusitania."

"Had we protested strongly, with a will plain in our protest, Germany never would have used poison gas and turned good fighting men into murderers at wholesale by a chemical formula."

"The air attacks upon defenseless towns and the bomb slaughter of civilians would logically be laid at our door because we sat in smug complacency and said that this fight was not ours."

"To-day not only the inventors of the hellish trick of suffocating fighting men, but the Allies, compelled through grim necessity, are using poison gas because we have made no protest. The Allies work with it against their will, because they must. Ours is the fault for all."

"We shirked our share in the world's work. We are responsible for the bad man downfall which we have permitted."

"A student here upon the ground, who knows both sides, can form a truthful estimate of the part we might have played, but it is a disheartening line of thought to carry to the end."

"America, the land of freedom, trained to strength the sovereignty which we might have retained. That had won the world's affection."

"The world regarded us as a great people, free and fine and generous and working for the best good of mankind."

"Upon the surface of the earth we had no enemies. There were those who smiled at certain of our national characteristics, but there were none who sneered at us. The good people of the earth were all our friends."

"There is a darker now that presently we may discover that we have no friends. Great as we may be in wealth, snug as we may be in prosperity, we shall be lonely in the years to come, I fancy."

which has been thrust at my country really know better the psychology of the new land which once was Washington's and Lincoln's than I, its son, knew it. It seems incredible, but—

"It will react on us some day. We have as much as Germany regarded treaties as mere scraps of paper. We have sat silent and inactive as she outraged them and tore them up. Need we shrink because we were not signatories? What American would stand quite calm and see a strange child robbed and outraged on the streets? Would any hesitate because he had not signed a treaty to protect that child after conference with other men? The old American manhood needed no signed papers to send it to the doing of its duty."

"We were brave and won our independence, fighting against odds. That compelled the world's respect. We have been knighted and have given freedom unto others. That had compelled the admiration of the world. We have been generous and have given back into the hands of those who had been weak but whom we had trained to strength the sovereignty which we might have retained. That had won the world's affection."

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No one could have underestimated the real feeling in the voice of the great architect as he mourned thus for his people, who he felt had been led into darkness by the men whom they had trusted.

"My countrymen have filled me with dismay," he went on slowly. "What has occurred to us? Can one man work this awful ill with me? Have we gone utterly astray? Is real Americanism dead?"

"Among our opportunities was one which might have been sufficiently realized by individuals as individuals even though our Government neglected its great chance."

"Why did not our scientists, our artists and our men of learning generally raise their voices in association when armed outrage was offered to the learning of the world and to its art?"

"Why did not our great religious combine and speak with sterner voices when Religion herself was bound upon the stake and burned in Belgium, the fagots for the fire made up of carved beams torn from the world's most beautiful cathedral?"

"I have had letters from the scores from the greatest artists, scientists and literary men of Europe asking wonderingly why their brethren in the neutral lands beyond the seas did not at least protest against the murder of the arts which they espouse, the sciences to which their lives are consecrated."

"What an opportunity for a great neutral group of men of art and learning to take up the gauntlet where the Huns had cast it! I took the matter up and wrote home to America."

"But to my letter to the president and members of the American Institute of Art and Letters I have never had an answer. Had its members risen to the situation when I begged them in December, 1914, they might have done a mighty service in saving some of the world's greatest works of various arts which they far more than others may be regarded as competent to appreciate and value. They did not, and the wonders have been wiped away by vandals."

"What the ruthless destruction of art value in Europe has been none positively can estimate. Some of it has been unavoidably incidental to warfare, most of it has been vandalism pure and simple—terribleness directed against humanity's love of beauty and its yearning for education in history and art, crushed as needlessly as the torpedos which sank the Lusitania was directed against the lives of old women and unconscious children. Military advantage there has been no more in one than in the other."

"Much of the art wreckage I personally have examined—much of all this useless material to be permitted out of Paris after the war has been the object of my journey was expert investigation, made at the request of the French Government, of the murder of the wonderful Cathedral at Rheims."

"Why did not the art world of America protest at all this vandalism? I have had the highest respect and regard for my fellows among American workers in artistic fields, but why, as neutrals in the political world, they did not prove their right to citizenship by making some protest against all this assumption of the patrimony which the past had left for the cultivation of this and coming generations, as a fortune goes to its trustees for enlightenment and guarding, I cannot imagine."

"It makes me wonder if America's cultivated man has not become as sorry as her official mind has seemed to be ever since the world was plunged into this war by deeds of horror which should especially have roused a free, republican Government to wrath and action."

"Can it be, I ask myself, that the American Institute of Arts and Letters has become as hopeless and as dead of spirit as an American political convention in this year of madness 1916?"

"When the American Institute asked for recognition from the French Institute it was welcomed wonderfully in a splendid letter. But in the American acknowledgment the world war, which has had such intimate relations to all artistic life through its slaughter of the body, if not the soul of art where ever one of its participants has touched it, was not once mentioned."

"Is there no blood in the veins of American artists and American writers? I inquire despondently."

WHEN A MAN GOES SHOPPING

By Norman Borchardt



There is always a fatherly old fellow, very much embarrassed by the feminine throng, who asks for "Something a lady around 45 can wear—something kinda nice."

Also the artistic bachelor, with the bored. "I'm used to this" expression, who searches long after a certain mauve gray—to match his wall paper.

Then the giddy young husband who "dotes" on doing his wife's shopping for her. He's such a jollier, isn't he, girls?

Last and least, the bundle bearer. It is only 3, and the stores close at 5:30—gosh!